

## Arthur McEwen Pays a Feeling Tribute to Greatness.

MR. McKINLEY in the noble speeches that he is delivering out West sets a rebuking example to Mr. Alger by modestly giving Providence a share of the credit for the triumphs of his administration.

And while Mr. McKinley thus encourages humility and wins the approval of his pastor the rest of the boys are attending to business in the old way, the business being the saving of the nation's honor from the Democracy and our Christian civilization from the Anarchists.

As usual, the bulk of the work falls upon that mainstay of social order, Senator Mark Hanna. Other champions of the established find enough to do in their home fields, but Mr. Hanna's duties extend over many States. Wherever a dime is endangered a call goes up for Hanna, and to every call he responds. The sinister hordes of Socialism, and the wily demagogues who appeal to the passions of the proletariat, artfully playing upon the dislike of common men for hard work accompanied by short rations, recognize in Mr. Hanna a foe against whom it is difficult to contend.

What a lesson for youth is presented in the career of this eminent man. With only a public school education, he began life as a clerk in his father's grocery store. Gradually

Hanna proceeded to organize and capitalize him as he would a steamboat enterprise. The notes of the embarrassed politician were bought up, secured by mortgage on his person, and his proprietor proceeded to work for dividends. Indefatigable in politics as in groceries, transportation and mining, Mr. Hanna hastened to the South and invested in an option on the colored delegations to the National Convention of his party. This detail attended to, he journeyed to the Northern centres of civilization and conferred with the local representatives of the political interests of concentrated wealth and culture, the result being satisfactory. There were clashings of contending ambitions at the convention, but Mr. Hanna smoothed them all down. The distinction between economy and parsimony is comprehended by Mr. Hanna as by all men of first-rate business ability, and no one can spend more freely than he when the occasion demands liberality.

His candidate for the Presidency being nominated, the subject of this sketch appealed to the enlightened judgment of the country. Not to elect him, he showed, would be to trail the national honor in the dust, visit the business world with an unexampled panic, and, above all, cut the wages of the workingman in two.

The intelligence, virtue and patriotism of the land responded. Unselfish wealth joined with alarmed poverty, and Mark Hanna, the successful business man, the wise publicist, was chosen President of the United States.

The personality of one who has achieved so much under free institutions is interesting to all, and should be particularly so to young men who feel within them the exalting fire of ambition. Ample in body, genial in manner, Mr. Hanna, among his other gifts, possesses a gentle, pleasing voice, whose persuasiveness few can resist, whether they be rich or poor. It is this voice, combined with an eye that sees through all exalting pretence, and can grow menacing, which accounts largely for the readiness exhibited by men of means in according to Mr. Hanna's requests for checks when the national honor is imperiled, the tariff liable to be interfered with, or other party calamities threaten. To all he is urbane, even when under the excitement of a political campaign. He has no bad habits, unless the strict may consider smoking such. But even General Grant was fond of his cigar. Consequently the good are not severe upon Mr. Hanna for this trifling weakness. Profane language never passes his lips in the presence of ladies or clergymen.

Since his election to the Presidency Mr. Hanna has procured the subsidiary honor of a seat in the United States Senate. Seditious persons who, strange to say, appear to be numerous in the Ohio Legislature, accuse him of having obtained this seat by purchase, and have carried the matter to the Senate, which, of course, will ignore so feeble an attempt to annoy a man in whom his party sees itself reflected, and whose wealth, political influence and social position constitute a sufficient answer to any facts of which he does not care to make cognizance. Since to unseat Senator Hanna for bribery would be to deliver a blow at the permanence of the existing form of Government, every defender of our civilization can be counted on to come to his aid, should need arise, against the sinister spirits who love to disturb settled conditions.

Marcus A. Hanna is in his sixty-second year and is destined to a long life. For he possesses that health which is the just recompense of men who have avoided vice and have no conscience to trouble them.

What Marcus A. Hanna is to the whole Union, Matthew Stanley Quay is to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and like Hanna, he has not escaped trouble. Mr. Quay is sixty-five years of age and from his youth up has held office, incidentally to his public duties giving such attention to his personal interests as has been required to make him rich and supply him with the town and country houses necessary

to the comfort and dignity of the modern publicist who does not prefer to dwell in a saloon.

While Mr. Quay has been busy in advancing the cause of government by the elite in his State and the nation at large, the tongue of detraction has not been idle. Educated in the law, however, he has hitherto been able to negate the successive movements instituted by disturbers, having in view the object of sending him to jail. At present he has the sympathy of Mr. Hanna and other of his brother Senators in the trying situation into which he has been forced by enemies not only of himself but of the admirably efficient system of government that Pennsylvania owes to him. Accused of using public funds for his private purposes, he meets the accusation boldly by denying what purports to be his own handwriting and pointing out that his accusers are neither his personal nor political friends.

ence to the Ten Commandments point the only way to success.

Notable among Mr. Quay's services to his native State was the lesson which he taught the foes of law and order in connection with the Pittsburgh riots in 1877. In the Legislature of 1889 a bill was brought forward appropriating \$4,000,000 to pay the losses of the railroad people and other property owners during those fearful days of license when so many strikers forfeited their lives. In order to pass this bill it was expedient to buy votes. They were bought. One legislator, of the same character as those who have sent from Ohio to Washington the charges of bribery against the peerless Hanna, arose and exposed the fact that he had been offered \$750 for his vote. Out of deference to hoary custom, an investigation was ordered. It was discovered that twenty members had been approached. Three members were convicted, but they were not expelled. Four members were afterward indicted. Three pleaded guilty and were hanged. Then they died. The other twenty trial and suffered imprisonment.

Mr. Quay was one of the Board of Pardons, and through his management the fugitives were induced to return. They were sentenced to pay a fine of \$1,000 each and a year's confinement with hard labor. Next day the Board met and the culprits were freed, and never forgot what they owed to Mr. Quay.

Theorists, needless to say, condemned the Pennsylvania leader for his action in this matter, but practical men never lose sight of consequences. Had these legislators gone to jail the Legislature would for years have been under the sway of demagogues, and the solid interests of the commonwealth have lost their control of the law-making power. The conservatism of Pennsylvania understood and appreciated the motives of Mr. Quay. And so with the unpleasant features attending his election to the Senate. Had he, out of a weak regard for abstract notions, allowed himself to be beaten, a man might have gone to Washington who would have voted to reduce the tariff on the necessities of life, to enforce the contract labor law, and otherwise interfered with the orderly course of business in Pennsylvania. Who knows but for Mr. Quay's presence in the Senate a representative might be there now who would put a great State to humiliation by a shameless and criminal vote against the gold standard?

A pleasant gentleman socially, given in private life to deeds of charity, and abstemious in his habits, Mr. Quay is thought well of by his pastor and esteemed by the local press. The country may be searched through in vain for a more perfect type of the statesman who keeps always to the front in his thoughts the interests of the better classes, and who is ever active in frowning upon the attempts of agitators to introduce Socialism into our politics under the specious name of reform. His speeches during the late Presidential canvass, in which he called upon the country in the name of national liberty and government by law to protect the courts and vote down the anarchistic Chicago platform were models of effective oratory. Mr. Quay is always welcome at the White House and enjoys a fame wider even than the boundaries of the United States. Eminent foreigners have written of him as a characteristic product of American politics in an era when mere manhood, endowed with the ballot, is kept within bounds by the salutary influence of wealth, intelligently employed.

Coming nearer home, we find a bulwark of strong government in Thomas Collier Platt, than whom the nation does not supply a slier example of the Republican statesman. Others may at times waver in their allegiance to property, but T. C. Platt never. He has a good deal of it himself, and in the midst of engrossing public cares, has still stolen the leisure to acquire a fortune. The State is first, of course, but this famous leader is a many-sided man. Not alone for himself has he gathered wealth, but by the formation of a

law firm, a trust company supplying official bonds, and other thoughtful and legal devices he has lovingly enriched his son. For many years Senator Platt has ruled his party in the Empire State. The Legislature is his, and his is the machinery by which he produces that form of government which Mr. Quay superintends instrumentally in bestowing upon the United States. When it is said that the Republican party is in power in New York, that is tantamount to declaring the fact that Senator Platt is in power.

Owing to the freedom of the press, which Mr. Platt has so far labored fruitlessly to limit, licentious prints assert of him—as they do of Mr. Hanna and Mr. Quay and other buttresses of government—that he is partly a cause and partly a symptom of a state of things which, if not cured, must bring either anarchy or monarchy.

These pestilential rebels aver that the foremost leaders of a great historic party are no better than vulgar scoundrels whose profession it is to collect money from the rich and expend a portion of it in buying protection for them from the equal operation of the laws; that these leaders, by their existence and functions, prove that the classes whom they serve are the criminal classes and the worst enemies of government of the people by and for the people; that the debauching of the electorate, legislatures and the courts, being done always in behalf, not of the poor, but of the rich, must inevitably break down all faith in law and destroy respect for the property, education and refinement which employ such agents and practise such methods; that despite is spread among honest men when the Hannas and Quays and



SOCIETY'S MAIN PROP IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Platts are seen successfully appealing to the best sentiments of human nature—love of country, regard for the national honor and dislike of dishonesty—in accomplishing their sordid and wicked purposes.

There are even madmen who proclaim that, could legal evidence be got of the truth of what everybody knows to be true of the most trusted leaders of the party of property, and respectability, not one of them could escape the penitentiary. If these insane maligners were to be credited we could not escape the conviction that we are governed to-day by what are really the vilest elements in the community—the corrupting rich at the top, the corrupted poor at the bottom, and consciousness ability between, taking its wages from predatory wealth.

At all this frenzied nonsense Thomas Collier Platt smiles. He is a friend of the President, a Senator of the United States, a member of the business community in good standing, an intimate associate of men of the very best families, who can write their checks for millions, a graduate of a famous college, a chief of the party of the aristocracy and the general of a well-disciplined political army, which is provisioned and paid from the corporate and individual assets of the richest city and State in the Union.

Mr. Platt is respectable, and knows it. He respects himself, and his power and position compel the respect of others. He is to the eye a most decorous and well-groomed old gentleman, more than satisfied with the heights to which he has climbed, and though often told by the press—which will get its dues if he can have its way—that he is a stripes-deserving villain, he doesn't believe it, and can't be made to believe it. He has not to ask Mr. Hanna, Mr. McKinley and Mr. Quay in order to receive the most friendly assurance to the contrary. These would as soon think ill of themselves or their work as of Mr. Platt and his.

There is, however, one blot upon the fair fame of New York's senior Senator. He affects to ignore it, to carry silently the main which it cannot but cause a man of his respectability and sensitive regard for the opinion of the best people in the community.

Mr. Platt has quarrelled with his pastor. Whether or not the efforts, which are constantly being made, to bring about a mending of the deplorable breach between the Rev. Dr. Parkhurst and Mr. Platt shall be crowned with success remains to be seen, but every one who regrets a divorce between Church and State will continue to hope and pray for the best.

Meantime the master of the party in New York gives his energies and all the resources of his fine mind to the task of keeping the government out of the hands of the people. The enthusiastic Fathers, or some of them, had a mighty trust in the capacity of the rough-and-tumble millions to rule themselves, and from their day down to our own doctrinaires and dreamers have held the same notion. But times have changed since Jefferson fancied the millennium had come within hailing distance. Then the population was small, life simple and wealth insignificant. Now our domain is vastly peopled, property enormous and the interests to be safeguarded from the ballots of the populace extremely complex, and generous in recognition of service. Government by the people, which Jefferson encouraged, has gradually been replaced with government by Hanna, Quay and Platt. Perhaps it was of this peaceful revolution which has taken place without destroying republican forms that Mr. McKinley was thinking when he said at Omaha on Wednesday last: "One of the great laws of life is progress, and nowhere have the principles of this law been so strikingly illustrated as in the United States. A century and a decade of our national life have turned doubt into conviction; changed experiment into demonstration; revolutionized old methods, and won new triumphs, which have challenged the attention of the world."

ARTHUR McEWEN.

## THE MEN WHO MASTER THE REPUBLIC.

What Hanna, Quay and Platt Have Done for Their Country.



THE ONLY BLOT ON HIS RECORD.

he worked up to party ownership in a boat on the lakes. By the practice of industry and economy and the avoidance of all the evil habits which drag the young down to perdition, the future statesman became possessed of fleets of steamers on the lakes, many stores, coal mines, street car lines, numerous houses, a beautiful country home and a stately mansion in the city of Cleveland, where he is honored by his neighbors, respected by his pastor and foremost in all good works.

The boy, turning from his school books and gazing longingly and timorously upon the great world beyond, is prone to err in judging of the causes of a success so splendid as this. Seeing Mr. Hanna, once as inexperienced and ambitious as himself, standing before prizes and dwelling as an equal among the mighty, the boy may say, "Lo, this great statesman has genius, which I am without. Therefore it would be vain for me to seek to follow in his giant footsteps."

Genius Mark Hanna may have, but it is not the wild genius which startles modestly by its originality and audacity, and frightens the conservative. No, his is simply the genius which consists of the infinite capacity for taking things.

Reverence for business principles is at the bottom of all Mark Hanna's triumphs. Early he perceived that wealth is not for him who works, but for him who works others. Early, too, he recognized that when an ungarbed dollar presented itself it would be seized by somebody else if he did not get it first. Competition, he saw, was the life of trade and the death of decency. Knowing that if he paid more than others for labor or any commodity, he would be at a disadvantage with rivals, he paid less, and was ever energetic in combating unions and all devices employed by workmen to save themselves from being squeezed. Thus in the important item of wages he generally felt much to be desired, but desired in vain, by those who carried them.

Doubtless the young Mark Hanna was conditioned by a great deal that was revealed to him as he advanced in wealth and the esteem of his fellow citizens. It cried him to discover that those who procured street railway franchises and other public property from legislative bodies were obliged to pay for them. But as between reform and franchise the future Senator preferred franchise. Imbued with his earliest years a profound respect for property and a reverence for law, Mark Hanna night and day accumulated the one and made use of the other. No man has ever been able to say that he neglected his duty to himself as an accumulator or told himself open to successful prosecution on a criminal charge.

Achieving the position in Ohio of a leading citizen, which is the equivalent of a noble's status in the monarchial countries of the outworn Old World, Mark Hanna naturally became desirous of those political honors which in a republic seek desert. Here again the innate qualities of the man displayed themselves. Another as rich and distinguished as he would have been tempted to offer himself for an elective office, which is alike uncertain and expensive. The substance rather than the semblance ever attracts the genuinely practical mind. While solicitous for power Mark Hanna did not permit vanity to cause him to forget business. He chose to become a ruler through a second person.

Selecting a politician deeply in debt, a dear friend who as Congressman and Governor had ably served the classes against whom the dangerous elements were forever complaining because they are rich and getting richer, Mr.



MODERN REPUBLICANISM INCARNATE.

Of course Senator Quay will be acquitted. The property and respectability of his State are with him. And against property and respectability nothing can prevail in Pennsylvania. Common gratitude demands this attitude on the part of property and respectability, for Mr. Quay has ever been a staunch friend of both. His sacrifices in their behalf have been many and valuable. For their security he has built up a party organization which stands between the better classes and the envious and unpleasant proletariat like a stone wall.

When it was necessary for the welfare of the higher orders to elect himself to the Senate no expense was spared by Mr. Quay. But for him the Standard Oil Company and the Pennsylvania railroad would often have been pestered with litigation and impoverished by legislation. He has earned the right to be ranked as the main prop of society in the Keystone State, where young men learn from his possession of office and wealth that reverence for the memory and maxims of the founders of the Republic and obedi-

liberty and government by law to protect the courts and vote down the anarchistic Chicago platform were models of effective oratory. Mr. Quay is always welcome at the White House and enjoys a fame wider even than the boundaries of the United States. Eminent foreigners have written of him as a characteristic product of American politics in an era when mere manhood, endowed with the ballot, is kept within bounds by the salutary influence of wealth, intelligently employed.

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When Hanna Was Young!



Quay Let Out His Convicts.



We Are the People.